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EASTERN

F.O.
371

1947

PALESTINE

File No. 49

to pp. 4027

CLOSED
UNTIL
1978

61834

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Reference: **FO 371 / 61834**

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1947

E

PALESTINE

E
2 JAN 1947
2

Registry Number

E49/49/31

FROM

P.O. Command.

No.

Dated

Received in Registry

2 Jan 1946

Request by Mufti, through Arab League to return to Palestine.

Palestine tel 2197 of Dec 27.

Refers Baghdad tel 938 (E12178/515/21) 14/12
informing that R.B.C report that request has been forwarded is confirmed. Arab League name is being used for purposes not sanctioned by its member States. Suggest action in tel under ref.

Last Paper

(E12178/515/21)

References.

(Minutes.)

In marked passage. This suggestion is absurd.

H.B. 2/11

H.B. 14/1

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

61834

(Action completed.)

FROM 15/1

(Index.)

30/1/68

Next Paper.

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FO 371 / 61834

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

Group *F0*

Class *371*

Piece *61834*

Following document(s) retained in the
Department of origin under Section 3 (4)
of the Public Records Act, 1958

E 151/49/31

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Reference:

FO

371

61834

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E 225
7 JAN 4

1947

PALESTINE

Registry Number E225/49/21
FROM Embassy
No. Cairo
Dated 1356
Received in Registry (184/117/46)
21 Dec 1946
7 Jan 1947

Activities of the Ex-Mufti.
Encloses Aide Memoire to H.E MAHMAN NOIKRASHY PASHA of Dec 27. Refers Bagdad tel 60 paving to Cairo, 938 to FO (E12148/515/21) discussing the presence of the Ex-Mufti in Egypt.

Last Paper.

225

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8/60
Jan 29

(Action completed.)

[Signature]

(Index.)

[Signature]

Next Paper.

E 241

(Minutes.)

This dispatch has arrived since 10 days minutes on the Mufti was submitted.

H. Bailey 7/

It shows that the latest representations to the Egyptian P.M. were dated December 27. There seems no point in taking the matter up again now, so soon after this communication.

copy to Egyptian Dept. *[Signature]* 8/1

25/11
9.1

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Private Secretary

I understand that the S/S now has my recent minute on the Muff's activities in Egypt, and is considering whether to remove the Egyptian part again as suggested by the High Commissioner for Palestine.

The attached paper and Mr. Baxter's minute are relevant to this question. I think the S/S should see them.

H. Beeley

See also S/S's minute
written. JK 13/11.

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Reference:

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/JK

1356
(384/117/46)

His Majesty's Ambassador presents his compliments to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and has the honour to transmit herewith copies of the under mentioned paper.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
CAIRO.

31st December, 1946

E 225
7 JAN

Reference to previous communication:
Bagdad telegram to Cairo No. 60 Saving,
addressed to Foreign Office No. 938 of
14.12.46.

Description of Enclosure.

Name, Date, etc.	Subject.
------------------	----------

TO: H.E. Mahmoud
Fahmy el
Nokrashy Pasha:
Aide Mémoire
dated the 27th
December, 1946.

Mufti: Haj Amin
El Husseini.

*I must deal with this as
soon as possible
waiting for precise information
9/12*

I must deal with this. I am

*waiting for precise information
E.H.*

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AIDE MÉMOIRE.

On August 28th, His Majesty's Ambassador addressed to His Excellency Ismail Sidky Pasha a letter, of which a copy is attached, informing His Excellency of the tenour of the various reports which he had submitted to His Majesty's Government of conversation regarding the presence in Egypt of Haj Amin El Husseini. Those conversations were concerned particularly with the undesirability of the ex-Mufti's becoming the centre of political activities or indulging in such activities himself.. It will be seen from the attached copy of the letter referred to above that His Excellency Ismail Sidky Pasha gave repeated assurances to His Majesty's Ambassador that the ex-Mufti's presence in Egypt would not be a pretext for any propaganda or any political activity.

Later, in October last, His Majesty's Minister pointed out to His Excellency Ismail Sidky Pasha the glaring impropriety of the ex-Mufti's having received a visit of three band organisers of the 1936-39 Palestine revolt; Sidky Pasha agreed with the comments of His Majesty's Minister that it might be embarrassing for the Egyptian Government if it subsequently transpired that those persons and the ex-Mufti were engineering from Egypt disorders in Palestine.

During the absence of His Excellency Ismail Sidky Pasha in London, Mr. Bowker spoke to His Excellency Abdel Kawi Ahmed Pasha, then Acting Prime Minister, recalling the assurances which Sidky Pasha had given to

Sir /...

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Sir Ronald Campbell in this connection, and pointing out that the ex-Mufti was reported to have received various leading members of the Palestine Higher Arab Committee, when, it appeared, this Committee was contemplating important decisions of policy. Mr. Bowker added that such behaviour was directly contrary to the spirit of the assurances which the ex-Mufti had given to His Excellency the Prime Minister.

Since the above representations were made it has been reported that the ex-Mufti has been visited by a number of Palestinians and certain notabilities of other Arab States. The fact that such visits have been taking place strongly suggests that Haj Amin El Hussein, despite his profession of reluctance to engage in any activities which might embarrass the Egyptian or British Governments, has not abstained from political activity since seeking, and obtaining, refuge in Egypt.

His Majesty's Ambassador, therefore, expresses the earnest hope that His Excellency the Prime Minister will be good enough to give his serious attention to the above-mentioned assurances, and will take the necessary measures to ensure that henceforward they are strictly implemented.

BRITISH EMBASSY,

CAIRO.

27th December, 1946.

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E

E 241
7 JAN

1947

PALESTINE

Registry Number

E 241/49/31

TELEGRAM FROM

M Giffley Smith

No.

Dated

Tedda.

Received in Registry

11.
6 Jan 1947
7 Jan 1947

Mufti of Jerusalem

9

Refer Jerusalem tel 2194 (49/44/31)
In view of recent - competence of Sec Gen
Arab League to correspond with M G's
reps in Cairo, resolution in enclosure & Cairo
dey eteh 1929 was presumably in fact unanim
ous, i.e. was endorsed by Iraq and Jordan
delegates. ADR: CAIRO No 1

Last Paper.

225

(Minutes.)

h.p.g.o.

References.

H.B. 9.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8/60.

✓ Jan 10

(Action completed.)

[Signature]

(Index)

[Signature]

Next Paper.

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Reference: **FO 371 / 61834**

E
E 241
DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1

Cypher/OTP

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FROM JEDDA TO CAIRO

Mr. Grafftey Smith D. 6.00 p.m. 6th January, 1947.
No. 1
8th January, 1947. R. 1.50 a.m. 7th January, 1947.

Repeated to FOREIGN OFFICE NO. 11.
[gp. undec. ? Bagdad] Saving
Beirut Saving
Damascus Saving
Jerusalem Saving
Amman Saving.

0 0 0 0

SECRET

E 49/49/31

Jerusalem telegram No. 2197 to Secretary of State.

In view of recent [gp. undec] competence of Secretary General of Arab League to correspond with His Majesty's Government's representative in Cairo resolution in enclosure to Cairo Despatch No. 1329 was presumably in fact unanimous- i.e. was endorsed by Iraqi and Transjordan Delegates.

12539/4/31

2. In the circumstances there seems little to choose between attitude of various Arab States composing the League.

JAN 7 1947

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1947

Palestine

EASTERN

E 425 / G

13 JAN 1947

E 425 149 16.

Grand Mufti

Sir R. Campbell
Cairo

83

Dated 10 Jan
Received 13 Jan

Refs to Cairo ^{deep} 1356 (E 225/49/31)
States that there is little
likelihood of Nokrash being able
to make satisfactory response to
representations about the Mufti.

Last Paper.

References.

E 449/49/31

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes)
being sent.
Copy C.O. (Mr. Trafford Smith)

This should be entered whole.

H.B. 13/1

I fear there is a great deal of truth
in this.

R. J. Jarran
15/1

W. J. Jarran
20/1

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

27/1

W.J.

Next Paper.

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Reference:

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13 JAN 1947

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E425

13 JAN 1947

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

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Cypher/OTP

DIPLOMATIC (SECRET)

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir R. Campbell D. 11.50 a.m. 11th January, 1947
No. 83

R. 1.55 p.m. 11th January, 1947

10th January, 1947

repeated to: Jerusalem
Bagdad,
Beirut,
Damascus,
Jedda,
Amman

} Saving

u u u u u

E151

Jerusalem telegram No. 1 to Secretary of State for Colonies.

Top Secret.

E225

See my telegram No. 1356 [sic] to Foreign and No. 165 to Jerusalem of 31st December.

I fear there is little likelihood of Nokrashi being able to make any satisfactory response to this last representation of ours, although the Mufti is not popular with the Egyptian authorities or with many Arab notables. However the strengthening of his position has been largely due to our failure to deal with extremist Jews in Palestine and to the belief, in view of our apparent inability to deal with illegal Jewish armed organisations, Arabs must now prepare themselves militarily to oppose the Jews in Palestine. Mufti is generally regarded as the only Arab leader capable and tough enough to organise effectively any such armed Arab resistance. There is little doubt that he and other Arabs inside and outside the Arab League are now busy on these lines. Azzam remarked recently to the Oriental Minister that after the British [failure] [omitted] to react even to the flogging of British soldiers a thing which had not been endured by any other army - it was clear that the British were not in a position to protect the Arabs who must look after themselves.

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BY 293

Palestine

E 622 / G

18 JAN 1947

2 1947

EASTERN

E 622 / 49 / G

Grand Mufti

13

Mr Creech Jones
C.O.

Enc note on activities of
the Mufti in Egypt.

Dated 14 Jan
Received 18 Jan.

Last Paper.

E 425

(Minutes.)

References.

Para 8. The statement that Musa Alami
has been found to clear the Arab Office is
incorrect. They will continue in their present
form until the end of March, though it is true
that continuance beyond that date is threatened.

(Print.)

Para 10. The additions to the Arab Higher
Committee number 5, not 8.

(How disposed of.)

In general, this does not add much to
our previous information - see E 151.

We now know that the Embassy returned
to the charge as recently as December 27th
(E 225), and that they do not anticipate any
satisfactory response to their representations (E 425).

(Action completed.)

21/11

(Index.)

W.P.

In the light of these reports, it is difficult to
see what advantage there could be in bringing
any further pressure to bear on the Egyptians
at this time.

Next Paper.

Egyptian Dept. for info.
30471 BOP.

H.B. Bailey 18/11
W.M. 20/11
Cover

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14 No useful purpose would be
served by pressuring the Egyptians
at this moment. H. H. [unclear]
2/1

I fear it is extremely unlikely that the
Egyptian Govt. would ~~agree to~~ repress
the Mufti's activities at the present
moment.

M. prepare note for the S. off
on the above lines.

R. V. [unclear]
21.1

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S/S
 2. Eastern Dept
 3. R. H. H. H.
 4. Eastern Dept
 5. Egyptian Dept. Jk
 TOP SECRET.
 15/1.



Entered
 E 622 15
 COLONIAL OFFICE,
 DOWNING STREET, S.W.1.

Foreign Secretary.

In our conversation with the High Commissioner reference was made to the activities of the Mufti in Egypt. I enclose a note on these activities, summarising the information available in the Colonial Office. You mentioned that you would consider whether any action should be taken to prevent the Mufti's use of his sanctuary in Egypt as a base for his intrigues.

Macdonald

14th January, 1947.

"Dept. to study & see if thought
 to do anything in Egypt.
 E.B.
 16/1"

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TOP SECRET

The Mufti in Egypt.

From the time of his arrival in Egypt in mid-June until the end of July the Mufti remained near Aboukir as King Farouk's guest. Assurances were given publicly by Sidky Pasha and privately by the King that he would not be allowed to take part in political activities, and he himself in a Press interview disclaimed any wish "to embarrass his kind hosts". There is, in fact, no evidence of such activity until he moved into a house of his own in Ramleh, Alexandria, at the end of July.

2. Sidky Pasha told the British Ambassador that it would now be easier to control the Mufti's actions as he was no longer a Royal guest, but did not accept the Ambassador's suggestion that the Mufti might be better relegated to a less accessible town e.g. Fayoum. The Mufti, for his part, is reported to have said to Azzam Pasha that "he could now meet anyone he pleased, including journalists". As a result of Press reports that the Mufti had received the Palestinian Arab leaders and Ministers of the Arab States, the British Ambassador wrote a letter of protest to Sidky, but without effect.

3. Henceforward the Mufti openly assumed direction of the Arab Higher Committee and held a series of conferences with his supporters in which he planned Arab resistance in Palestine and the neighbouring countries.

4. Four members of the Higher Committee visited him on 22nd August, Jamal Hussein, Emile Ghoury, Ahmad Hilmi and Hussein Khalidi, and they

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were followed by Mohammad Hawari the leader of Najjada, who was consulted about amalgamating his movement with Futuwa as a joint force under the orders of the Higher Committee.

5. The British Ambassador protested again on 25th August against this blatant breach of the Government's assurances, and was informed in reply by Sidky Pasha on 15th September that both the King and he were much annoyed by the Mufti who had abused their hospitality and had been intriguing with the Soviet Legation and actually "summoning" Arab leaders from Palestine. The King had ordered that "such behaviour must stop". No check, however, was put on the Mufti, and among his visitors in September were Akram Zuweiter and Izzat Darwazah from Syria and Kamal Areikat, the leader of Futuwa, who was summoned to discuss the proposed union of Najjada and Futuwa.

6. The British Ambassador made another protest on October 3rd which caused Sidky Pasha to demand an explanation from the Mufti. The Mufti ingenuously answered that he was only seeing a few old friends and was willing to refuse audience to anyone obnoxious to the Egyptian Government. He denied that any of his visitors was subversively inclined and that he had made any approach to the Soviet Legation. This reply apparently satisfied Sidky Pasha so long as he remained in office.

7. Another meeting of the Higher Committee was held on October 18th and attended by the four members as before. The British Ambassador therefore made a last protest on October 24th.

8. For the next two months the Arab Higher Committee was sitting almost continuously in Cairo,

first

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first at the Mufti's conferences and then at the meeting of the Arab League. The Mufti surrounded himself with numerous henchmen who had been concerned with him in the Arab rebellion, among whom were Ishak Darwish Husseini and Izzat Darwazzah who directed terrorist operations in Palestine from Damascus in 1937 onwards, Sheikh Hassan Abou Saoud who directed operations in Palestine after the Mufti had fled in 1937, and Main el Madi who was a member of the Mufti's organisation for directing the disturbances in 1938. A considerable stiffening of Arab opinion and resistance has been noticed in Palestine, which was caused both by Jewish terrorism and illegal immigration and by stimulus from Cairo. A campaign of murder began against Arab "traitors" three of whom were killed in December: a scheme for a further Arab Land Bank under the control of the Mufti was mooted to prevent the sale of land to Jews: moderate elements, such as Musa Alami, were more or less silenced (and Musa Alami has been forced by the Mufti to close down the Arab Offices): the formation of rebel gangs in Palestine has been started and every opportunity of inciting popular hatred is being exploited.

9. The Arab Higher Committee threatened to stop the payment of taxes if any part of the cost of the Cyprus camps was met from Arab revenue, and Jamal Husseini on 21st December warned his followers to be ready for "action soon".

10. The Higher Committee is at present in Palestine for the purpose of communicating "decisions of a serious nature" to its followers. These presumably will reveal the plan of action laid down in Cairo in December. The Committee is also

reported

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reported to have been enlarged by the addition of eight new members, four of whom are the notorious renegades mentioned in para. 8. Only two of these were recently amnestied. Their votes will ensure the Mufti's predominance if the other four members are drawn from the less extreme parties in an attempt to give the Committee the appearance of a United Patriotic Front.

11. Though there is still considerable friction between the various Arab parties and especially between the youth organisations, the Najjada and Futuwa, the Mufti, helped by events, has undoubtedly had much success in organising Arab resistance. So far he has enjoyed the immunity of Cairo, but when the time for action comes he may decide to move to a battle Headquarters in the Levant, whence he directed the revolt of 1936-8. The representations to the Levant Governments asking for assurances that he will not be granted entry have received only evasive replies. It is thought unlikely that the Governments could resist the popular clamour in his favour, even if they so wished.

12. It is also noteworthy that despite his personal feud with the Hashemites and his support of Raschid Ali, the Mufti persuaded the Arab League to present a request to His Majesty's Government for an amnesty for his past. He has apparently ingratiated himself with the League, in which the main cohesive force is anti-Zionism, and reached some sort of reconciliation with the Hashemites.

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E

E 667
20 JAN 20

1947

PALESTINE

Registry Number

E 667/49/31

TELEGRAM FROM

Lt. H. Stoneham -
No. Bird

Dated

Bagdad.

Received in Registry

17 Jan 1947
20 Jan 1947

Request by Mufti to Enter Palestine.
Refer Bagdad tel 938 (E 12149/515/31) Inform Iraqi Minister for Foreign Affairs that when resolution was passed by Arab League he was instructed by his Govt not to vote but Iraqi accepted resolution tacitly. Both P.M.s in foreign affairs have maintained that plan is to allow Mufti to return to Palestine where he would undoubtedly be assassinated. Embassy pointed out he would only return if amnesty were granted and this

Last Paper.

622.

(Minutes.)

7.13.21/1

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

E 667/22/1

(Index.)

[Handwritten signature]

Next Paper.

1086

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Cypher/OTP.

DEPARTMENTAL 667

21

FROM BAGDAD TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

20 JAN

Sir H. Stonehewer Bird.
No. 48.

D. 8.10 a.m. 18th January, 1947.

17th January, 1947.

R. 9.25 a.m. 18th January, 1947.

Repeated to Jerusalem
Beirut - Saving,
Amman - Saving,
Damascus - Saving,
Jedda - Saving
Cairo - Saving.

Jerusalem telegram No.1.

I concur with the High Commissioner's views and can only repeat suggestion made in my telegram 880. E 11203/11/73

2. Iraqi Minister for Foreign Affairs states that when resolution enclosed in Cairo despatch [grp. undec. ? 129] was passed by the Arab League he was instructed by his Government not to vote (see my telegram 938) but Iraqi accepted resolution tacitly. E 12178/15/31

3. Both Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs have maintained to me that by far the best solution would be for the Mufti to be allowed to return to Palestine since he would undoubtedly be assassinated either by Jewish terrorists or by Arab enemies. I have pointed out that we cannot avail ourselves of this attractive possibility since the Mufti would only return to Palestine if amnesty were granted to him and this is of course out of the question.

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E 1086

1947

PALESTINE

5 FEB

22

Registry Number
FROM
No.
Dated
Received in Registry

E1086/49/31
E.A. Armstrong
Cabinet Office
to M. Beley
31 Jan 1947
5 Feb 1947

Minutes of Jerusalem.

Note of conversation with M. Emil Glouy during which M. Glouy raised the question of the Mufti. and stated that he thought that the attitude of HMG was very odd towards the Mufti. when we were prepared to sit at the same table as himself (Glouy) and know that it was at the consent of the Mufti and that Glouy and colleague would report proceedings to the Mufti.

(Minutes.)

H.B. 107
12

Last Paper.

667

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

[Signature]

(Index.)

[Signature]
20/2/48

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61834

MR. BEELEY 7/3/42

Mr. Barton 3/2

E 1086

SECRET

Note of a Conversation with M. Emile Ghoury

23

I sat next to Mr. Emile Ghoury at the luncheon at the Egyptian Embassy on 31st January. After we had talked on a number of subjects of no particular importance Mr. Ghoury raised the question of the Grand Mufti. He began by saying that he supposed that the Mufti's name was not one which people liked to hear mentioned in England, but he thought that it was odd that His Majesty's Government should take the attitude they did towards him while, at the same time, they were prepared to sit round the table with Mr. Ghoury, and his colleagues, who were in London with the consent of the Mufti and who would refer to the Mufti any proposals for the solution of the Palestine problem which arose. Why was it Mr. Ghoury asked that the British disliked the Mufti so much?

I said that I thought the reason was clear and that was because after fighting against us in Palestine during the rebellion, the Mufti had adhered to our enemies, the Germans.

Mr. Ghoury acknowledged that the Mufti's residence in Germany during the war could not be expected to be palatable to the British, but the circumstances in which he went to Germany should be taken into account. After the rebellion in Palestine the Mufti had gone to Beirut and after he had participated in the Iraqi rebellion of 1941, a price had been put on his head, and he could find no safety in any allied or neutral country. Turkey had refused to let him stay there. He had thus no alternative but to go to Germany.

I asked Mr. Ghoury whether the Mufti had not desired a German victory. Mr. Ghoury said he had been asked the same question by Mr. Oliver Lyttleton when Minister of State in Cairo during the war and had replied that he did not wish for a German victory except as regards Palestine. As regards Palestine a German victory would have meant the settlement of the Jewish problem.

I said that surely this had been a very secondary issue in the conflict. Mr. Ghoury answered that it had been a primary issue so far as the Palestinians were concerned. He went on to say that it seemed anomalous that His Majesty's Government should be prepared to recognise Jewish leaders, such as, Mr. Ben Gurion, who had been proscribed and some of whom had been kept in detention. While, at the same time, they would have nothing to do with the Mufti. He instanced General Smuts as a case in which the British Government had entirely revised their opinion of the former enemy.

At the end of our conversation Mr. Ghoury said that he would like to raise the question of a revision of His Majesty's Government's attitude towards the Mufti informally during his present stay in London. Should he contact some one in the Foreign Office, or the Colonial Office and, if so, whom?

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I told Mr. Ghoury that I would discuss the problem he had raised with some of my colleagues and let him know the answer in the course of the next few days.

Mr. Ghoury spoke with great earnestness and there is no doubt that he, and his colleagues, are very anxious that His Majesty's Government should be more forthcoming towards the Mufti. I was surprised that he did not make unfavourable comparisons between the treatment of the Mufti and that of former Burmese renegades such as U Saw and Ba Maw, but fortunately he spared me this embarrassment.

(Signed) E.A. ARMSTRONG

31ST JANUARY, 1947.

MR. MATHIESON

We discussed the matter recorded above and you said that you would consult your colleagues in the Colonial Office on the point as to whom Mr. Ghoury should see in this matter.

31st January, 1947.

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61834

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1947

E

E 1175

PALESTINE

6 FEB

25

Registry Number

E1175/49/31

FROM

Sir R. Campbell

No.

Cairo

Dated

WAS/ESC

Received in Registry

4/6/1/479

28 Jan 1947

6 Feb 1947

Activities of the Mufti.

Discuss frequent reports of mischief being caused in Egypt by the Mufti. Suggest we have every advantage in getting him back to Palestine where he can be effectively controlled. Presumes difficulty in that this might raise suspicion among Zionists and other circles in England and America. But on local situation, his return to Palestine seems better of two evils.

Last Paper.

1086

(Minutes.)

References.

There is no possibility that the High Commission would agree to Sir R. Campbell's proposal. And it would be a mistake, so long as we have any prospect of United Nations backing for a compromise settlement in Palestine, to inflame American opinion by re-admitting the Mufti.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Dpt. Trafford Smith from M Beby Mar 5.

copy c.o.

H. Beby 10/2

Dpt. Sir R. Campbell Cairo from J.R. Hoare April 3 to C.O. April 3

? so reply, subject to views of C.O.

R. Farran 10/2
W. M. ... 11/2

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

[Handwritten initials]

[Handwritten initials]

Next Paper.

E 1213

/Agtw

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Reference: FO 371 / 61834

26

speaking to Mr. Trafford Smith, C.O., about
this, I have written to him. Copy within.

H.B. 5/3

b.v. 10/3

b.v. 25/3

In P.P. Trafford Smith to Mr Beeley. 14242/2/1
of Mar 27.

-- C.O. tel 531 of Mar 17.

-- P'stal tel 630 - 23.

H.B. 9/4

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61834

etc

E 1175
6 FEB

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WAS/EGC
416/1/47G

BRITISH EMBASSY,
CAIRO.

28th January 1947

Dear Bob,

You will have seen from frequent reports what a lot of mischief the Mufti is doing in Egypt and how he even appears to be organising from here armed resistance in Palestine in spite of the assurances previously given by the Egyptian Government that attempts would be made to put an effective control on his political activities in Egypt. It seems to me that we have every advantage in getting him back to Palestine where he can be effectively controlled. Do you suppose there is any chance that the idea of encouraging him to return to Palestine could be favourably examined? I presume the difficulty is that this might raise a commotion in Zionist and other circles in both England and America. But on the local situation his return to Palestine seems obviously the lesser evil.

*yours ever
Ronald Campbell*

R.G.Howe, Esq., K.C.M.G.,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

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Reference:

FO 371 / 51834

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IC
FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.³

5th March, 1947.

Ref. E1175/49/31.

OUT FILE

28

My dear Trafford,

I enclose a copy of a letter which Sir Robert Howe has received from H.M. Ambassador in Cairo, asking whether there is any chance that the idea of encouraging the Mufti ~~to~~ Jerusalem/would be favourably examined.

to return to Palestine

Brigadier Clayton, when I saw him the other day, expressed the opinion that the Mufti's influence would continue to grow so long as he was excluded from Palestine and that his return to the country offered the only prospect of breaking or at least reducing his influence in the foreseeable future. We know also that some of the Mufti's Arab opponents in Palestine hold the same view.

Low
On the other hand I assume that the High Commissioner would in present circumstances maintain his previous refusal to consider permitting the return of Haj Amin to Palestine, and we are thinking of stressing the High Commissioner's objection in/reply to the Ambassador. I should be glad to know whether this will meet with your approval. You may wish to consult the High Commissioner before expressing an opinion, but if so I should be grateful if you would ask him for an early reply.

Yours ever,

H.B.
Trafford Smith Esq.,
Colonial Office, S.W.1.

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Reference:

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61834

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14342/3/1.

TOP SECRET.

Ent

Downing Street,
S.W.1.

29

27th March, 1947.

INDEXED

Dear Harold

Thank you for your letter E.1175/49/31 of the 5th March, about the possibility of encouraging the Mufti of Jerusalem to return to Palestine

We have consulted the High Commissioner and I enclose copies of the telegrams exchanged. The High Commissioner's telegram No. 635 contains the material you expected for a reply to His Majesty's Ambassador, Cairo.

We agree with Sir Alan Cunningham, and have no objection to your stressing his views in your reply to Sir Ronald Campbell.

Yours ever

Harold Smith

H. Beeley, Esq., C.B.E.,
Foreign Office.

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

14342/3/1/47

Cypher (O.T.P.)

30

TO PALESTINE (General Sir A. Cunningham)
FROM S. OF S., COLONIES.

Sent 17th March, 1947. 18.45 hrs.

No. 531 Top Secret.

INDEXED

Foreign Office have been approached by Ambassador, Cairo, who refers to mischief the Mufti is doing in Egypt, and points out that he appears to be organising from Cairo armed resistance in Palestine in spite of assurances given by Egyptian Government as to control of his political activities. Ambassador sees advantage in getting him back to Palestine where he can be effectively controlled, and asks whether idea of encouraging Mufti to return to Palestine could be favourably examined.

View has also been expressed that Mufti's influence is likely to grow so long as he is excluded from Palestine, and that his return offers only prospect of breaking, or at least reducing, his influence in the foreseeable future. Some of his Arab opponents in Palestine are said to hold the same view.

I assume that in present circumstances you would be most unwilling to contemplate Mufti's return to Palestine but should be grateful for your confirmation and for any observations you may have on views referred to above.

Grateful for reply as soon as possible.

Distributed to:-

M.S.25
Secretary of State
Sir T. Lloyd
Mr. Thomas
Mr. Martin
Sir D. Harris

Mr. Trafford Smith
Mr. Mathieson
Mr. Higham
Mr. Poynton
Mr. Bennett
Mr. Bigg

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Reference: **FO 371 / 61834**

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COPY

INWARD TELEGRAM

Cypher (O.T.P)

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham) 31

TO S. OF S., COLONIES.

D. 23rd March, 1947.

R. 23rd " " 15.40 hrs.

IMPORTANT

No. 635

Your Top Secret telegram No. 531.

I have for some time past had under review the question of allowing Haj Amin to return to Palestine. I recognise clearly that his continued presence in Egypt must cause embarrassment and that his activities there cannot be effectively controlled. I have little doubt that he is organising from Cairo both the supply of arms to the Arabs in Palestine and neighbouring states, and also a campaign in Palestine for liquidation of Arabs who negotiated sales of land to Jews. In addition, he is no doubt directing the activities of the Arab Higher Committee.

2. It has been argued with some force that as long as Haj Amin remains in exile he is to the Palestine Arabs at any rate something of a legendary hero, with whom his political opponents in this country cannot come to grips even if they wish to, and that, if he were to return to Palestine, familiarity would rob him of much of his present prestige, besides which he would be subject to closer surveillance by the Security Authorities and would thus come under more effective control.

3. It must be remembered, however, that Haj Amin, wherever he may be, is at present unlikely to remain the leader of great majority of Palestine Arabs. To bring him back to Palestine now would be to court grave trouble, for not only would his arrival be certain to awake the now quiet Fellahin, who he alone could arouse and knit into a cohesive whole, but also it would give lively colour to the old story that he is secretly supported by the British. The effect on Jewish opinion particularly would be /disastrous,

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Reference:

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32

disastrous, and this at a time when it is of first importance to maintain political equilibrium pending reference of the Palestine case to U.N.O.

4. If after return he were to overstep the mark again, as is probable, we should be faced with the necessity of detaining and deporting him, which would be more likely to stir up Arab trouble than leaving him where he is.

5. I consider that, even if it should prove possible adequately to control the Mufti's activities in Palestine, his very presence at this juncture would so excite the Arabs as to create grave problems of everyday security. I realise that the time will come when Haj Amin must be allowed to come back to Palestine, but that the time is not yet, and I could not agree to his return now.

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Registry
No. E 1175/49/31

OUT FILE

3 April
~~March~~, 1947.

33

~~Top Secret.~~
Secret.
~~Confidential.~~
~~Restricted.~~
~~Open.~~

Draft. H. B.
H.M. Ambassador
Cairo.

SECRET

Dear Ronnie,

We have consulted the Colonial Office on your letter to me of the 28th January, about the Mufti of Jerusalem. They now tell us that the High Commissioner, while he is aware of the advantages which might follow from re-admitting Haj Amin into Palestine, is confident that these would be outweighed by the disadvantages.

The High Commissioner points out that the Mufti's arrival in Palestine would tend to arouse the latent political fanaticism of the Arab peasants, who are now quiet. It would also tend to ^{strengthen} support the belief, which has been current at various times in Palestine, that the Mufti is secretly supported by H.M.G.

If the Mufti, after his return to the country, were to overstep the mark again, the Administration would be faced with the necessity of detaining and deporting him, and this would be more likely to stir up Arab trouble than leaving him where he is.

The High Commissioner also draws attention to the effect on Jewish opinion of a decision to re-admit the Mufti, and to the importance of maintaining political equilibrium while the Palestine problem is under reference to the United Nations. With these arguments we are in full agreement, and it also seems to us that there is much force/

(From Sir R. Howe)

Copy to:
Colonial Office

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

H.B. 25/3

RQ
29/3
Wm 31/3

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Reference: **EO 371 / 61834**

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force in the High Commissioner's objections from the local Palestine point of view.

No doubt the time will come when Haj Amin must be allowed to return to Palestine, but it does not seem that this is the appropriate moment.

R. V. M.
37.3

Yours ever

(Sgd.) Bob Howe.

(R. G. Howe)

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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35
COPY FILE

FOREIGN OFFICE,
S.W.1.

(B.1175/49/31)

3rd April, 1947.

Secret

Dear Ronnie,

We have consulted the Colonial Office on your letter to me of the 28th January, about the Mufti of Jerusalem. They now tell us that the High Commissioner, while he is aware of the advantages which might follow from re-admitting Haj Amin into Palestine, is confident that these would be outweighed by the disadvantages.

The High Commissioner points out that the Mufti's arrival in Palestine would tend to arouse the latent political fanaticism of the Arab peasants, who are now quiet. It would also tend to strengthen the belief, which has been current at various times in Palestine, that the Mufti is secretly supported by His Majesty's Government.

If the Mufti, after his return to the country, were to overstep the mark again, the Administration would be faced with the necessity of detaining and deporting him, and this would be more likely to stir up Arab trouble than leaving him where he is.

The High Commissioner also draws attention to the effect on Jewish opinion of a decision to re-admit the Mufti, and to the importance of maintaining political equilibrium while the Palestine problem is under reference to the United Nations. With these arguments we are in full agreement, and it also seems to us that there is much force in the High Commissioner's objections from the local Palestine point of view.

No doubt the time will come when Haj Amin must be allowed to return to Palestine, but it does not seem that this is the appropriate moment.

Yours ever

(Sgd) Bob Howe

(R.G.Howe)

Sir Ronald Campbell, G.C.M.G., C.B.,
Cairo.

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FO

371

61834

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1947

Palestine
EASTERN

E1622/G
22 FEB 1947

⁴ ³¹
E1622/49/G

Grand Mufti

36

F.O. Hin
Sir R. Howe

Report's conversation with
de Tamali on 17 Feb
regarding the Mufti.

Dated 19 Feb.
Received 21 Feb.

Last Paper.

E1213

(Minutes.)

by Mr. Martin, C.O.

References.

H.B. 4/3

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8) Mr. Martin C.O.
✓ 11 March

(Action completed.)

2F 1/3

(Index.)

1/2

Next Paper.

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61834

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E 1888

4 MAR

38

1947

PALESTINE

Registry Number

E 1888/49/31

FROM

14 M. Legation

No.

Damascus

Dated

24 Feb 1947

Received in Registry

4 Mar 1947

Movements of the Mufti.

Transmits copy of note to Baghdad 9/7/47.
Discusses possibility of Mufti visiting Syria next month. States that during conversation with JANIK MARDAM, the latter denied that there are any charges of Mufti appearing in Damascus, and said that the last time he had seen the Mufti in Egypt, Mufti was determined to remain there.

Last Paper.

1622

(Minutes.)

References.

Copy/c.o.
Egyptian Paper.
D 14/3

H.B. 4/13

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8/60.
Mar 14

(Action completed.)

G.P.M. 15/4

(Index.)

[Handwritten signature]

Next Paper.

2761

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61834

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BRITISH LEGATION,
DAMASCUS.

39

24th February, 1947.

E 1888

With the components

of

H.M. Chargé d'Affaires.

C.W. Baxter, Esq., C.M.G., M.C.,
Foreign Office,
S.W.1.

39

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FO 371 / 61834

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40

British Legation,

Confidential.

DAMASCUS.

91/7/47.

24th February, 1947.

Thank you for your letter 140/9/47 of the 4th February. We have fortunately not heard so much about Iraq recently, as attention has largely been taken up with Turkish and Transjordanian affairs, though, of course, Iraq has come in for an occasional slap as Transjordan's friend.

You ask me whether there are any indications that the Mufti might migrate to Syria next month. (Incidentally, was it not Nuri himself who encouraged the Mufti to come from the Lebanon to Iraq in 1939? I have dim recollections of writing angry minutes in the Eastern Department about Nuri's behaviour on that occasion!). I cannot say that I have been able to get any pointers. I reminded Jamil Mardam the other day of the representations I had made to his predecessor last year on this subject (my telegram No. 13 of 21st October, 1946 to the Foreign Office) and asked him whether he thought there was any danger of such a move by the Mufti in the coming months. Jamil denied that there was and said that the last time he had seen the Mufti in Egypt, the latter was determined to remain there.

This, of course, does not mean very much. But I should have thought that now the Palestine question is to go to U.N.O., the Mufti would hardly regard it as a suitable time for any escapades on his part. The Arabs would not gain anything by competing in terrorism with the Jews.

If my conjectures are wrong and the Mufti does suddenly appear in Damascus, there is no doubt that he will be tolerated, if not actually welcomed. Saadullah Jabri was not very forthcoming in the matter, as you will see from the telegram referred to above, and Jamil is likely to be even less so.

I am sending copies of this letter to Baxter, Beirut, Jerusalem, Jeddah and Amman.

H.M. Eyres.

Sir H. S-tonehewer-Bird, C.M.G., O.B.E.
British Embassy,
Bagdad.

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FO 371 / 51834

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Piece *61834*

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Reference: **FO 371 / 61834**

E

E 2850

1947

PALESTINE

APR

41

Registry Number } E2850/49/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No. M Houston -

Dated } Botswall

Received } Beirut

in Registry } 237
31 Mar 1947
2 April

To Muzta
Refer Cairo tel 818 (E2761/49/31) states having seen possibility of Muzta leaving on Beirut wanted Muzta for Foreign Affairs that it would be folly to have him later press reported Muzta would be returning with Lebanese delegation to Arab Summit meeting. Sent letter to P'dent who emphatically denied that Muzta would

Last Paper.

(2761)

References.

(Minutes.)

Egyptian Deps.
[Handwritten signature]

H.B. 29/4

La P.P. P'ster tel 716 of 1/4.

(Print.)

Beirut telegrams on this subject are reported to Jerusalem See e.g. E 2862 and E 2882.

H.B. 4/4

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

[Handwritten signature]
7/2/47

(Index)

[Handwritten signature]
30/4/48

Next Paper.

E 2862

1	2	3	4	5	6
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			2		

Reference: **FO 371** / 61834

E 2850

42

[This telegram is of particular ^{APP} secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on.]

Cypher/OTP CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Houstoun Boswall D. 6.52 p.m. 31st March, 1947.

No. 237

R. 9.10 p.m. 31st March, 1947.

31st March, 1947.

Repeated to Cairo

Bagdad

Jerusalem

Amman (Jerusalem please pass as my telegram No. 35)

Jedda

Damascus Saving

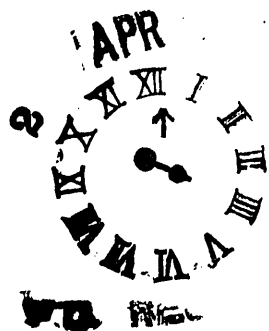
E 2761/49/21

Cairo telegram No. 818 to you: Mufti.

About a fortnight ago having seen the possibility of the Mufti turning up here, mentioned in the newspapers, I most earnestly warned the Minister for Foreign Affairs that it would be folly to have him. I recalled the embarrassment which the Mufti had eventually caused to Nuri Pasha when the latter had, in a fit of enthusiasm in 1939, admitted him to Iraq on his escape from the French here. I also told His Excellency that as he had ignored my advice about Fawzi [gr.undec.?Qua]wji whom, as I had told him at the time, even King Ibu Saud had found it necessary to lock up and whose arrival had led to blood-shed at Tripoli, I hoped that he would take it now and see to it that the Mufti did not come. The Minister for Foreign Affairs said that there was no question of it.

2. Towards the end of last week some of the press here announced that the Mufti would be returning with Lebanese delegation to the Arab Council meeting and on March 22nd I sent a message to the President on the lines of the foregoing. His Excellency said "God forbid" and undertook to telephone next day to the Lebanese Prime Minister who was then in Cairo about it. On March 24th my emissary again approached the President at his house, and in the presence of Minister for Foreign Affairs who had by that time returned from Cairo asked him about the Mufti. Both emphatically denied that he would be coming here.

3. I will now take further appropriate action and I will report results.



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Reference:

FO

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61834

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2850 49 71

CB. 43

INWARD TELEGRAM 3 APR 1947

Cypher (O.T.P.)

INDEXED
INDEXED

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)
TO S. OF S., COLONIES.

D. 1st April, 1947.
R. 1st " " 21.55 hrs.

IMPORTANT

No. 716 Secret.

Addressed to H.M. Ambassador Beirut,
No. 465.

Repeated to S. of S.
" H.M. Ambassador, Cairo,
No. 56.

Movement of Mufti to Lebanon.

Grateful if you could ascertain and
inform me what are the intentions of the
Lebanon Government in this matter. Your
telegram No. 68 of 22nd October refers.

Copies sent to:-

Foreign Office

- Communications Dept.

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E

E 2862

1947

PALESTINE

3 APR

44

Registry Number

E 2862/49/31.

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

M. Houston Board.

Dated

Beirut

Received in Registry

246.

1 April 1947

3

The Mufti.

Refer Beirut tel 237 (E 2850/49/31)

Asked Pdent if there was any chance of Mufti arriving after telephoning P.M. His Excellency denied that there was any truth in the rumour. Nevertheless Mufti suddenly landed by air, a certain that balance book would not fall coverage to deposit him or even to ask him to go.

Last Paper.

(2850)

References.

(Minutes.)

Egyptian Paper.

Handwritten initials and signature.

H.B. 4/4

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

Handwritten signature and date: JEM/9/4

(Index.)

Handwritten signature and date: 30/4/47

Next Paper.

E 2878

32008 F.O.P.

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Cypher/OTP

CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE

E 2862

Mr. Houstoun Boswall

No. 246

1st April, 1947.

D. 4.52 p.m. 1st April, 1947.

R. 8.30 p.m. 1st April, 1947.

Repeated to Cairo

Bagdad

Jedda

Jerusalem

Amman (Jerusalem please pass as my telegram No. 37)

Damascus Saving

F F F F

My telegram No. 237: Mufti

Although I shall be seeing the Minister for Foreign Affairs on April 2nd I sent a member of my staff today informally to ask the President of the Republic if there was now any chance of the Mufti coming here. His Excellency after telephoning to the Lebanese Prime Minister again denied that there was any truth in the rumours and suggested that I should also mention the matter to the Minister for Foreign Affairs when I saw him.

2. Nevertheless if the Mufti were suddenly to land here from an aircraft I am perfectly certain that the Lebanese Government would not have the courage to deport him or even to ask him to go. In fact the President recently said that if the Mufti did turn up he would not know what to do about it at all.

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16

1947

E

PALESTINE

E 2878
3 APR

46

Registry Number } E 2878/49/31
TELEGRAM FROM
No. *Ali Eynes*
Dated *Damascus*
Received in Registry } 95
1 April 1947
3 - -

The Mufti.
Refer Paris tel 818 (E 2761/49/31) Astat, mentioned possibility to Prime Minister, and again pointed out how embarrassing the Mufti's presence in Levant States might be. THOMAS BRY refused to be drawn and merely reiterated his conviction that the Mufti was perfectly happy in Egypt, and was likely to stay there.

Last Paper.

2862.

References.

gypt. o.
Egyptian Papers.
26/4

(Minutes.)

H.B. 47/4

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8/60
✓ April 8

(Action completed.)

J. L. H. 10/4

(Index)

[Signature]
30/4/48

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32003 F.O.P.

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61834

Cypher/OTP.

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

E 47

FROM DAMASCUS TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Mr. Eyres.
No. 95.

D. 9.16 a.m. 2nd April 1947.

1st April 1947.

R. 12.45 p.m. 2nd April 1947.

Repeated to: Cairo,
Bagdad,
Beirut,
Jerusalem,
Jedda and
Amman.

SAVING.

E 2878
3 APR

W:W:W:W:W

SECRET.

Cairo telegram No.818.

E 2761/40/71

Mufti.

I mentioned this possibility to the Prime Minister today and again pointed out how embarrassing the Mufti's presence in the Levant States might be both internally and externally.

2. Jamil Bey refused to be drawn and merely reiterated his conviction that the Mufti was perfectly happy in Egypt and was likely to stay there.

[Copy sent to Middle East Secretariat.]



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1947.

E

PALESTINE

E 2882

2 APR

48

Registry Number

E2882/49/31

TELEGRAM FROM

Mrs. Houston Boswell

No.

BEIRUT

Dated

252 -

Received in Registry

2 Apr 47

The Mufti.
Refers to Beirut tel 246 (E 2882/49/31).
Minister for Foreign Affairs said the Mufti would not be coming to Lebanon. He attached no credence to reports emanating from Damascus to that effect.

Last Paper.

E2878

References.

(Minutes.)

Ref in dept.

Egyptian Dept.

H.B. 4/4

D
26/4

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed)

95/1/9/4

(Index.)

20/4/48

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Piece *61834*

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E

E 3244

1947

PALESTINE

18 Nov

50

Registry Number

E3244/49/31

FROM

P. Q.

No.

M. Wilkes.

Dated

Received in Registry

16 April 1947
18 - -

'Muptis over the Middle East'
Mr Wilkes asked why, among 16 books banned in Palestine, there is a book dealing with Muptis as an enemy of the country. Mr Bruce Jones. He heard of the opinion that the publication in question would be prejudicial to public safety, and order.

(Minutes.)

Last Paper.

3169

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

Gen M 19/4

(Index)

30/1/48

Next Paper.

3668

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61834

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EASTERN

51
Encl
E

Parliamentary Question

* 65. Mr. Wilkes,—To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies, why, at the end of March 1947, amongst the 16 books announced as being banned in Palestine in the official Gazette of the Palestine Government, there is a book dealing with the Mufti of Jerusalem's pre-war and war-time role as an enemy of this country and entitled Mufti Over the Middle East. [Wednesday 16th April.]

Lat
Newcastle-upon-Tyne,
Central

RECEIVED 16 APR 1947
REPLY ATTACHED.

E 3244
18 APR

(11)

F.O. ARE NOT ASKED TO ADVISE.

**PALESTINE
(BANNED PAMPHLET)**

42. Mr. Wilkes asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies why, at the end of March, 1947, amongst the 16 books announced as being banned in Palestine in the official "Gazette" of the Palestine Government, there is a book dealing with the Mufti of Jerusalem's prewar and war-time role as an enemy of this country and entitled "Mufti Over the Middle East."

Mr. Creech Jones: Under the Defence Emergency Regulations the Censor in Palestine has power to prohibit the circulation of publications liable to incite disorder. The Censor is of the opinion that the publication in question would be prejudicial to public safety, and order. The pamphlet has come under recent review and the local authority has found no reason to vary the decision.

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61834

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pw
E
PARLIAMENTARY
QUESTION, 52

PALESTINE
(BANNED PAMPHLET)

42. Mr. Wilkes asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies why, at the end of March, 1947, amongst the 16 books announced as being banned in Palestine in the official "Gazette" of the Palestine Government, there is a book dealing with the Mufti of Jerusalem's prewar and war-time role as an enemy of this country and entitled "Mufti Over the Middle East."

Mr. Creech Jones: Under the Defence Emergency Regulations the Censor in Palestine has power to prohibit the circulation of publications liable to incite disorder. The Censor is of the opinion that the publication in question would be prejudicial to public safety, and order. The pamphlet has come under recent review and the local authority has found no reason to vary the decision.

16 APR 1947

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Reference: FO 371 / 61834

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1947 S.	Palestine EASTERN	E 3668 / G 2 MAY 1947
E 3668 / 491 G Sir R. Campbell Cairo. 354 April 25th.	Ex-Multi of Jerusalem. 53	
Last Paper. E1622	(Minutes.) Copy Co. (Mr Trafford Smith)	
References. E425	Press sent May 3	
(Print.)		
(How disposed of.) Mr Trafford Smith Co ✓ 9 May.		
(Action completed.) 25/5	(Index.) 4/14	
Next Paper.		

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Reference: **FO 371 / 61834**

re

SR

2 MAY 1947

E
E 3668

BRITISH EMBASSY,

CAIRO. 54

25th April, 1947.

No. 354 ✓
(416/23/47)

Sir,

E Green
L. Westlake
With reference to correspondence ending with my telegram No. 83 of January 10th last regarding representations to the Egyptian Government against the political activities in Egypt of the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, I have the honour to enclose herewith copy of a letter at last received from Nokrashy Pasha in reply to my letter of December 28th, 1946, and subsequent reminders on this subject.

2. The assurance given by Sidky Pasha was of course quite general, namely, that the ex-Mufti would not be allowed to indulge in political activities here. Nokrashy Pasha's argument apparently is that the ex-Mufti can only be expected to refrain from such political activities as might cause alarm, anxiety or embarrassment to His Majesty's Government or to anyone concerned with the preservation of peace and public security in Palestine or Egypt. He maintains that the ex-Mufti has indulged in no such activities. Obviously any political activity by the Mufti, in view of his murky past, is likely to prove eventually embarrassing to His Majesty's Government. However, the argument in the penultimate paragraph of the Egyptian Prime Minister's letter seems more difficult to answer. The Egyptians' argument has long been that public order is being violated and blood being shed in Palestine owing to the activities of Jewish terrorists whom the Jewish community in Palestine, including responsible leaders equivalent to the ex-Mufti, could easily suppress if they would only co-operate wholeheartedly with us in order to do so. Meanwhile the Arabs are doing nothing violent. It is obvious that they are quietly making their preparations in the background, but it is difficult to convince the Egyptians that our first business should not be to deal with the people who are at present responsible for the violation of public security rather than with those who may be suspected of planning future disturbances.

3. Anyhow, I fear that, in the present state of feeling in this country, it is hopeless to expect that any Egyptian Government will take any effective measures to restrain the political activities of the ex-Mufti in Egypt.

I have the honour to be,
With the highest respect,
Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

Ronald Campbell

The Right Honourable
Ernest Bevin, M.P.,
Foreign Office,
LONDON, S.W.1.

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Reference:

EO 371 / 54834

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55

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

1.1/158

Cairo, 19th April, 1947.

Dear Ambassador,

You have complained to me more than once about the political activities of the Ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, and you have asked me what action I have been able to take on them.

I would indeed be lacking in candour if I did not tell Your Excellency that I have not been aware of any such political activities as might cause alarm, anxiety or embarrassment to the British Government or anybody concerned with the preservation of peace and public security in Palestine or Egypt. Your Excellency knows as well as I do that he is the recognised leader of the Palestinian Arabs. He is not only held in great esteem by his own countrymen but also by all the Arab States of the Middle East. Surely a man of such position and prominence should be allowed a certain measure of freedom to receive visits or air his views every now and then, especially at a time when his country is being torn and tormented by internal disorders created only by the Zionists whose illegal flow of immigration is defiantly and disturbingly continuous, and whose leaders are doing everything in their power to force an issue so fatal to his country.

The British Government themselves have referred the thorny question of Palestine to the United Nations Organisation where the fate of that unhappy land will be decided. It is only natural, in the light of all these circumstances that the leading heads of the Palestinian Arabs visit the Ex-Mufti to exchange views with him as to the defence of their cause before the Security Council. It was not, in my opinion, too much political activity on his part when he received them. This is the sort of political activity that does not disturb in any shape or form peace and public security, and therefore, should not be embarrassing to anybody or come under the category of dangerous or even unfriendly activities.

I have seen the Ex-Mufti on several occasions and talked to him. He has always impressed me that he is absolutely conscious of his obligations towards Egypt not to cause embarrassment to the Government and not to abuse the hospitable sanctuary given him.

Your Excellency is aware, as much as I am, that it is not the Arabs of Palestine who are causing the terrible disorders in Palestine, which fact goes to prove that their leaders including the Ex-Mufti, do not preach violence. The Zionists

His Excellency
Sir Ronald Ian Campbell,
G.C.M.G., C.B.,
H.B. Majesty's Ambassador,
CAIRO.

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Reference:

FO 371 / 64834

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alone are the roots and perpetrators of all this misery. |

I can assure Your Excellency that no harm whatsoever is being done by the limited measure of freedom enjoyed by the Ex-Mufti, and neither you nor the British Government should have any concern about a few social or political visits made to him by a few harmless and well-known people.

Believe me,
Dear Ambassador,
Yours very sincerely,

(Sgd) M. F. NOKRASHY.

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61834

1947

E

E 3700

PALESTINE

5 MAY

57

Registry Number } E3700/49/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received in Registry

Lt. R Campbell

Cairo

1036

7 May 1947

Lt. Muptt.

Refer Amman 11 122 (E 3169/49/31)
State some such development has been expected and may also be directed against those circles & their friendly houses or moderates or those in contact with Jews regarding land sales.

Last Paper.

7668

References.

E3668/49/3.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

S. Matheson G.O.

May 7

S. M. 139 W.O.

May 16.

(Minutes.)

Co. have not yet had the High Commissioner's view: they are now telegraphing for them

Egyptian Dept. 19/5

Bu May 25

Dist. Secy
May 19

R.P.
19/5

(Action completed.)

Handwritten signature

(Index.)

Handwritten signature

Next Paper.

E 3786

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Reference: FO 371 / 61834

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Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL No.1.

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir R. Campbell
No: 1036
2nd May, 1947.

D. 7. 54 p.m. 2nd May, 1947.
R. 10.45 p.m. 2nd May, 1947.

Repeated to Jerusalem,
Amman Saving,
Beirut Saving,
Damascus Saving,
Bagdad Saving,
Jedda Saving.

E 3700

11111

Amman telegram No. 122 of April 15th to you:
Ex Mufti.

Some such development has been expected and may well also be directed against the Arabs either friendly to us or moderates or those in connivance with the Jews regarding land sales.

2. Nokrashi's answer to our last representation of the Mufti about political activities (see my despatch No. 354 of April 25th) said among other things that the Mufti was not indulging in activities of a kind to [grp. undec: ? cause distress] to the British or anyone else interested in the security of the Middle East.

3. Terrorist activities certainly concern the security of the Middle East but presumably we have no proof which we could effectively advance to Nokrashi. We might however simply assert that we have reason to believe that the Mufti is organising such terrorist activities and demand a tightening up of the control of the Mufti's activities generally. However Nokrashi, on the analogy of his last communication and in his present mood, might well reply that it lay with us to end actual Jewish terrorism before demanding action from the Egyptian Government [grp. undec: ? against] [grp. undec.] future Arab terrorism provoked anyhow by the fact that we had not succeeded in putting a stop to Jewish terrorism. Nevertheless subject to the views of His Majesty's High Commissioner Jerusalem, I think that on the balance we had better make some sort of a representation to Nokrashi on the lines suggested above.

[Copy sent to Middle East Secretariat].

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Reference: FO 371 / 51834

3664/20/5

58

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7169/40/1

E

E 3786

1947

PALESTINE

7 MAY

59

Registry Number

E3786/49/31

FROM

Mr. A. Kirkbride

No.

Amman

Dated

5/5-81/41

Received in Registry

to Mr. Baxter

25. Apr 1947

7 May

The Mufli.

W.S.

Refer Amman tel 122 (E3169/49/31) Has since received information from good source confirming original report but adding that a number of influential Palestinian Arabs, supporters of MASSARA faction, have sent word to Mufli, advising against Arab disorders in Palestine.

(Minutes.)

Last Paper.

3700

References.

The Arabs have been surprisingly quiet so far

H. P. Beint
May 7

Copy No.

W. P. 8/5

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

1/ P.D.
May 14

(Action completed.)

P.C.M. 14/5

(Index)

14/5

Next Paper.

3804

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Reference: FO 371 / 61834

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(S/581/41).

SECRET

Ents
BRITISH LEGATION,

AMMAN.

25th April, 1947.

E 3786
4 MAY

F
60

Dear Bantle,

Please refer to my Secret telegram No.122 of the 15th April, 1947, about the activities of Haj Amin el Husseini.

2. I have since received information from another good source confirming the original report but adding that a number of influential Palestine Arabs, supporters of the Husseini faction, have sent word to Haj Amin advising against Arab disorders in Palestine. They said that conditions were very different from those obtaining in 1936 - 39, when the Jews refrained from retaliation, and that any acts directed against the Jews would now bring effective reprisals from that quarter.

3. The persons who made these representations were well to do and stood, therefore, to lose if the Arabs became involved in disorders. It was not clear that their views were shared by the type of person who would be used by the Mufti, or that the Mufti would be deviated from his plans even if they wire.

4. I am sending a copy of this letter to the High Commissioner for Palestine.

Your sincerely,
Amin

C.W. Baxter, Esq., C.M.G., M.C.,
The Foreign Office,
LONDON, S.W.1.

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Reference: **FO 371 / 61834**

E

E 3804

1947

PALESTINE

8 MAY

61

Registry Number

E 3804/49/31

FROM

Mr. Edelman

No.

P. Q.

Dated

Received in Registry

5, May 1947

8

The Minutes

Mr. Edelman, asked what representations to him recently made to Egyptian Govt, re Mr. Edelman's political activities, - Cairo Mr. Edelman 14 M.G. has made frequent representations to Egyptian Govt, re Mr. Edelman's arrival in Egypt, on account of political activities in which he has been engaged.

Last Paper.

3786

(Minutes.)

Copy Cairo

JB, May 8

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

9/ Cairo no. 319
(Open) May 14

(Action completed.)

J. E. M. 14/5

(Index)

30/11/47

Next Paper.

3949

1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference:

FO 371 / 61834

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EASTERN

E

Parliamentary Question

62

* 10. Mr. Edelman.—To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, what representations he has recently made to the Egyptian Government concerning the ex-Mufti's political activities in Cairo; and what is the nature of the activities to which exception has been taken. [Monday 5th May.]

Lab

Coventry W

ANSWERED - 5 MAY 1947
REPLY RECEIVED.

1000

It will be seen from the attached papers that the latest representations to the Egyptian Government about the Mufti were made in an aide-mémoire dated December 27th (E 225). We have just received (see E 3638/G) a reply from the Egyptian Government, which does not get us anywhere.

In any case, whatever the success of our representations, I do not think that we should explain the whole story to Mr. Edelman.

Draft reply attached. C. C. Conner

J. G. S. Beith

(J. G. S. Beith)

3rd May, 1947.

E 3804
8 MAY

We have, in fact, as the aide-mémoire at Flag D (E 225) shows, made frequent representations to the Egyptian Government about the Mufti, but we have not actually made any recent representations.

As regards the nature of the Mufti's political activities, we have no very precise information. We know that he is in active communication with, and frequently sees, politically active Palestine Arabs and other Arab notables, and secret reports indicate that they discuss the policy to be pursued by the Arab Higher Committee about Palestine, the organisation of secret Arab activities, etc. In replying to Mr. Edelman, however, I do not think it is possible to say more than that he is engaging in "political activities connected with Palestine".

including terrorist activities

I. P. Garran

(I. P. Garran)

3rd May, 1947.

W. M. ...
3/5

Nikraskyi penult. para. is not without point.

M. Butler 3/5.

15/16.



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Reference: FO 371 / 61834

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63

RECEIVED IN C.B.
7 MAY 1947
SENT TO DEPT.
8 MAY 1947

22. Mr. Edelman asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what representations he has recently made to the Egyptian Government concerning the ex-Mufti's political activities in Cairo; and what is the nature of the activities to which exception has been taken.

Mr. McNeil: His Majesty's Government have made frequent representations to the Egyptian Government, since the Mufti's arrival in Egypt, on account of the political activities in which he has been engaged.

Mr. Edelman: In order to limit the area of activity of the ex-Mufti, will my right hon. Friend confirm that, in no circumstances, will he be allowed to go to Palestine?

Major Haughton: Can the Minister say what political activities have led to the complete disruption of the Anglo-Egyptian union in Egypt?

- 5 MAY 1947

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61834

64

22.

DRAFT REPLY

*10. Mr. Edelman.
Monday, 5th May.

H.M. Government have made frequent representations to the Egyptian Government, since the Mufti's arrival in Egypt, on account of the political activities in which he has been engaged.

Notes for Supplementaries

(1) What has been the result of these representations?

H.M. Government are not satisfied that the measures taken by the Egyptian Government have adequately restrained the political activities of which they complain.

(2)/

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61834

MB
3/5

MB
3/5

Ru
2/5

65

(2) What is the nature of the Mufti's political activities?

They are political activities connected with Palestine.

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FO 371 / 61834

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E

E 3999

1947

PALESTINE

14 MAY

66

Registry Number

E3999/49/31

TELEGRAM FROM

Mr. Kirkbride

No.

Amman

Dated

150

Received in Registry

13, May 1947

14

The Mufti

Refer Cairo tel 1036 (E3700/49/31) States
Mr. Mufti called a few days ago at Transjordan
legation in Cairo and asked what an expression
of his loyalty should be conveyed to King
abdallah. The King sent a polite note but
commenting, said he could not understand the
visit as he was considered Haj Amin, was a
confirmed enemy of Abdallah.

Last Paper.

3804

(Minutes.)

References.

Mrs. Bent
May 15

Copy K.O. *being done*

(Print.)

RQ
V 15/5

(How disposed of.)

g. P.O.
M.I.3. a
(with E3700/49/31
May 16)

(Action completed.)

[Signature]
15/5

(Index)

[Signature]
30/7/47

Next Paper.

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61834

Cypher/OTP.

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

67

FROM AMMAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Sir A. Kirkbride.
No. 150.
15th May 1947.

D. 12.10 p.m. 13th May 1947.
R. 3.30 p.m. 13th May 1947.

Repeated to: Cairo
and Saving to
Bagdad,
Beirut,
Damascus,
Jedda,
B.M.E.O. Cairo,
Jerusalem.

E 3999
14 MAY

W:W:W:W:W

Cairo telegram No. 1056.

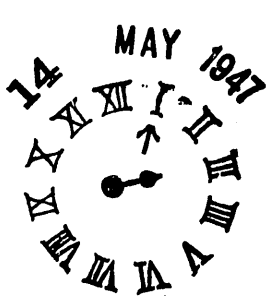
3700/49/71

Ex Mufti called a few days ago at Transjordan Legation in Cairo and asked that an expression of his loyalty should be conveyed to King Abdulah. The King sent a polite acknowledgment but commenting here said he could not understand the visit as he was convinced Haj Amin was a confirmed enemy of the Hashimites.

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25

E

E 4027

PALESTINE

4 MAY

68

Registry Number

E 4027/49/31

FROM

F. O. Minute.

No.

M. M. Reill.

Dated

Received in Registry

5 May 1948
15

Its Mufti.

States M. Edelman has put down another P. Q. designed to give opportunity to wear Mufti and Egyptian feet what he should be kept away from Palestine.

Last Paper.

3999

References.

(Minutes.)

Enwiki 15/5
16/5

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

[Signature]

(Index)

[Signature]

Next Paper.

4327

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Reference:

FO

371

61834

70

Mufti would return to Palestine without permission. There is no reason to suppose that he wants to be arrested by us in Palestine, and he can carry on his activities quite well from Egypt or some other Arab state.

unrested
7/5

The "at present" seems weak & unnecessary & even provocative, and we are asking C.O. to omit it.

RECEIVED IN C.B.
13 MAY 1947
SENT TO DEP.
13 MAY 1947

N Butler

Most certainly "at present" must come out. at present must come out.

John P. S.

Mr. Pymon.

I presume C.O. have agreed to omit "at present".

John P. S.
10/5

Yes. But the Colonial Secretary is recasting the draft reply. Mr. Rob may come to speak to his private

Secretary. L. G. Pymon
12/5

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6

Reference: FO 371 / 61834

EASTERN

72
END

Parliamentary Question

Lab.

Coventry W.

* 68. Mr. Edelman.—To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether His Majesty's Government still maintains a prohibition against the ex-Mufti's return to Palestine; and for how long it proposes to continue it. [Monday 12th May.]

Transferred to C.O. who propose
to reply as follows:

"H.M.G. have at present no
intention of authorising any
relaxation of the order under which
the ex-Mufti is excluded from
Palestine".

They ask for our concurrence,
at the departmental level. Qy give it.

L.P.L. Pyman

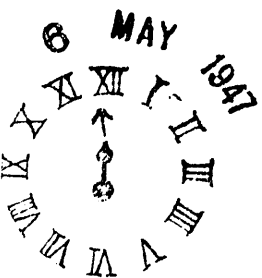
7/5

~~W.M. Butler~~
7/5

C.O. told. 518

LS 7/5

On Mr. Butler's instructions C.O.
have been asked to omit "at present".
They have submitted their draft reply
to their 5/5 with these omitted.
LS 9/5



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